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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

DODE-00 NSC-05 /085 W
---------- 118630
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2102
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 11152

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US
SUBJECT: CSCE AND AFTER: PUBLIC ACCENT ON BREZHNEV AND
DISARMAMENT

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1. AUGUST 7 CENTRAL PRESS CARRIED COMMUNIQUE BY POLITBURO, PRESUDIUM OF SUPREME SOVIET AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON CSCE RESULTS WHICH REITERATES LINE OF PRESS AND MEDIA COMMENTARIES SINCE BREZHNEV'S RETURN FROM HELSINKI. ALSO FEATURED WAS AUGUST 6 DECLARATION OF SOVIET COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF PEACE. BOTH DOCUMENTS STRESSTHAT HELSINKI, WHILE BOTH AN END AND A BEGINNING, IS PART OF THE DETENTE PROCESS, AND THE PRINCIPLES MUST BE GIVEN LIFE, "MATERIALIZED" IN PRACTICE, BEGINNING WITH "MILITARY DETENTE." TEXTS OF COMMUNIQUE AND DECLARATION NO DOUBT AVAILABLE IN DEPARTMENT, BUT FOUR POINTS CONCERNING POST-HELSINKI SOVIET PUBLIC LINE ON CSCE MAY BE OF INTEREST.

2. ALTHOUGH IT CONTINUES FULSOME BY WESTERN STANDARDS, SOVIET PRESS PLAY ON CSCE HAS SWITCHED INTO LOWER GEAR SINCE LAST WEEKEND. ASIDE FROM TWO FORMAL DOCUMENTS NOTED ABOVE, IT HAS CONSISTED MAINLY IN LETTERS FROM READERS AND FAVOR-ABLE REPLAYS FROM FOREIGN PRESS. COMMENTARIES HAV BEEN SPARSE.

3. BREZHNEV'S ROLE IS STRONGLY HIGHLIGHTED EVEN BY SOVIET STANDARDS, IN THE JOINT POLITBURO-GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE, IN COMMENTARIES, AND BY READERS. FIRST "SUBSTANTIVE" POINT IN COMMUNIQUE IS "EMPHASIS" ON "OUTSTANDING ROLE OF LEONID ILYICH BREZHNEV IN IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY COURSE OF CP AND SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IN DEVELOPMENT AND REALIZATION OF THE PEACE PROGRAM," AND ONLY FEAT SPECIFICALLY "APPROVED" BY INSTITUTIONAL AUTHORS IS BREZHNEV'S HELSINKI SPEECH. COMMENTARIES ARE MAINLY RETREADS OF SPEECH AND ITS MAIN THEMES.

4. NONE OF THIS PUBLIC MATERIAL SO FAR GIVES ANY SERIOUS INDICATION OF HOW SOVIET DIPLOMACY WILL PROCEED IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE IN POST-HELSINKI PERIOD, EXCEPT IN ONE AREA: DISARMAMENT. THE LINE THAT NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN IN THE DISARMAMENT AREA IS CLEAR AND CONSISTENT IN THE COMMENTARIES. SPEAKING ON TELEVISION AUGUST 3, IZVESTIYA EDITOR TOLKHUNOV MENTIONED REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS, AND "OTHER DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS" (IN THAT ORDER) AS "THE NEXT STEP." CONFIDENTIAL

WRITING WITH TWO OTHER CORRESPONDENTS IN IZVESTIYA AUGUST 4, BOVIN CALLED STOPPING THE ARMS RACE AND ACHIEVING REAL RESULTS IN DISARMAMENT "THE NUMBER ONE TASK IN THE WHOLE PROCESS OF MATERIALIZING DETENTE." HE ADDED THAT WHILE THE BASIC NEGOTIATIONS ARE GOING ON IN GENEVA AND VIENNA (IN THAT ORDER), "THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY THE COMMON SUCCESS IN HELSINKI WILL BE BENEFICIAL" IN BOTH LOCALES. THE COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF PEACE CATALOGUED

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WHAT MUST BE EVERY SUCCESSFUL AND ABORTED SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL IN RECENT DECADES (IN NO PARTICULAR ORDER) AND CALLED ON ALL WHO LOVE PEACE TO INCREASE THEIR EFFORTS TO MAKE DETENTE IRREVERSIBLE, ACHIEVE REAL SUCCESSES IN THE DISARMAMENT FIELD, AND EXCLUDE WAR FROM THE LIFE OF MAN. FINALLY, TODAY'S POLITBURO-GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE STATES "THE MAIN THING NOW IS TO COMPLEMENT POLITICAL WITH MILITARY DETENTE. ONE OF THE FIRST-RANK TASKS IN THIS AREA IS TO FIND A WAY TO REDUCE ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WITHOUT DAMAGING THE SECURITY OF ANYONE, ON THE CONTRARY, TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL".

5. DISTINCTION BETWEEN ALL-IMPORTANT SECURITY PRINCIPLES AND "OTHERS" IN ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN FIELDS IS DRAWN BY EMPHASIS AND ORDERING IN ALL THESE MATERIALS. IN TREATING BASKET III TOPICS, TODAY'S POLITBURO-GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE EVEN INCLUDES THE "OBSERVANCE OF THE LAW AND TRADITIONS OF EACH COUNTRY" WHICH SOVIETS TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO INSERT IN GENEVA. AT SAME TIME, IT SHOULD PERHAPS ALSO BE NOTED THAT SOVIET PUBLIC PLAY HAS NOT SO FAR TENDED TO MAKE IMPLEMENTATION OF "SECONDARY" PRINCIPLES CONDITIONAL ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SECURITY PRINCIPLES, AS THE EAST GERMAN AND POLISH PRESS ARE APPARENTLY INCLINED TO DO.
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